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HISTORICAL
SYLLABUS FROM
1700 C.E. TO THE
PRESENT DAY



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HISTORICAL SYLLABUS

FROM

1700 C.E. TO THE PRESENT DAY.

A COURSE OF THIRTEEN READINGS

PREPARED FOR THE MEMBERS

BY

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TEXT BOOK—GRAETZ, *History of the Jews*, VOL. V.

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INTRODUCTORY.

The period of history dealt with in this syllabus covers the last two hundred years. It will be found to possess an interest apart from that belonging to any other period of Jewish history, just because it reveals the various forces and movements that are immediately accountable for the present conditions of Jewry throughout the world. It comprises a series of momentous events, the most far-reaching of which was the transition of Jewish history to its modern stage, signalled by the activity of Mendelssohn and the occurrence of the French Revolution.

The first half of the eighteenth century witnessed a condition of intellectual confusion and communal chaos. The spell of Sabbatai Zevi was spread throughout Europe. A succession of Pseudo-Messiahs—mercenary impostors or misguided mystics—roamed the Continent, deluding the populace and leaving strife and disappointment in their track. Even Rabbis were secret adherents of the mischievous heresy; hence the "Amulet Controversy" that raged between Emden and Eibeschütz. The semi-Christian sect of Frank and the new Chassidic movement both had their rise in Poland, where the social and economic upheaval aggravated the spiritual unrest.

The dawn of a new era came with the advent of Moses Mendelssohn, who performed the intellectual emancipation of his people by giving them a German translation of the Bible, and showing that the practice of religious conformity could be combined with an acquisition of modern culture. His generation accepted the culture but forsook the religious conformity; and Lessing's portrayal of the ideal Jew was followed by a march of the votaries of culture to the baptismal font. Simultaneously with the intellectual ferment there went on a struggle for political emancipation. The French Revolution inaugurated the civil equality of the Jews in France, but their brethren in Germany, Austria, England, had to work and wait for similar rights for another half-century.

Mendelssohn's influence operated in two different directions, though both were probably unforeseen by the meek philosopher. The agitation for religious reform and the prosecution of scientific research were both inevitable results of intellectual emancipation. They were, moreover, closely connected, for the advocates of reform sought to justify their proposals by their historic conception of the development of Judaism. The annals of Jewish history and the

literary treasures accumulated through the ages first began to be revealed in the days of Zunz, and succeeding scholars followed in his path with a similar zeal to vindicate the Jew by narrating his history. Not only was the Gentile world inspired with a certain respect, but the wavering Jew was filled with an historic consciousness that strengthened his faith.

But it is impossible to generalise. During the last fifty years, in which the Jews have made the greatest progress, there has hovered over them the cloud of Anti-Semitism, which has not yet been dispelled; and whatever meed of prosperity may be their lot in Western Europe, America, and the British Colonies, half of the Jewish people is still in bondage in Russia. Here we reach Jewish history in the making; and though the historian may suggest a solution of the Jewish question, only political forces will achieve it.

NOTE.—As an introduction to chapters vi. and vii. of Graetz, vol. v., read Dubnow's *Jewish History*, pp. 133-137, and as an introduction to the remainder of the volume read pages 138-155.

In dealing with the nineteenth century, Dubnow's generalisations cannot always be accepted. For example, on p. 141 he says of the German Jews: "If they renounced some of their religious and national traditions, it was by no means out of complaisance for their neighbours." But the apostasy of Börne, Heine, Gans, and others, had surely no other motive but to secure the complaisance of their neighbours. Again, in dealing with the Hebrew literature produced by the Jews of Russia, pp. 151-152, he does scant justice to its merits. Whatever value may attach to historical research, the creative imagination is the soul of literature, and it is this element that is conspicuous in the modern Hebrew literature of Russian Jewry.

I.—GENERAL DEMORALISATION OF JUDAISM, 1700—1725, C.E.

Graetz, vol. v., ch. vi.

This chapter (which should more properly be entitled "General Demoralisation of Jewry") presents a depressing spectacle of superstitious folly and pseudo-Messianic imposture, which characterised most of the Jewish communities from Amsterdam to Constantinople not only during the first quarter of the 18th century but almost throughout the rest of the century. If one may speak of a mediæval period in Jewish history, with an implication not of the persecution

and fanaticism outside the community but of the ignorance and charlatanry within, then the 18th century well deserves the title. Even though the life and work of Moses Mendelssohn are comprised within this period, the predominant impression is nevertheless one of gloom.

Amid the general intellectual decadence the Messianic heresy of Sabbatai Zevi stands conspicuous. A succession of adventurous impostors arose in various places, gave themselves out as the expected Messiah, and profited by the credulity of the masses. In Smyrna appeared Bonafoux, who followed the example of his master by finally adopting Islam. In Tripoli arose Cardoso, who met his death by the hand of his nephew. From Hungary Mordecai of Eisenstadt set forth on his Messianic mission and transplanted the heresy to Poland. In Salonica Jacob Querido, brother of Sabbatai's widow, was palmed off as Sabbatai's son and worshipped as the embodiment of the two Messiahs of the Houses of Joseph and David. Then arose Jacob's son, Berechyah, whose followers, to the number of 4,000, apostatised from Judaism and formed a sect (*Donmeh*, a Turkish word for "apostates"), which lives on in Salonica to the present day. Another Sabbataian sect was created in Poland by Judah Chassid and Chayim Malach, who preached repentance and self-mortification, and were followed by a deluded multitude to Jerusalem, where Judah died, and the spell was broken.

But the exploits of all these were exceeded by Nehemiah Chayon, a Cabbalistic adventurer born in Hebron, who travelled from Smyrna to Amsterdam and obtained support in almost every community that he visited. His escapade is all the more interesting as it shows that credulity was not limited to any particular section of Jewry: whether in Turkey, Italy, Bohemia, or Germany, honours were shown to him and money flowed into his pockets. He traded in amulets and on the superstition of the multitude: he claimed to hold converse with Elijah, but secretly led a life of profligacy. He composed a blasphemous work on a Trinitarian doctrine as part of the Jewish faith, which he printed in Berlin with the aid of some wealthy dupes, and which he fortified with the sanction of the Venetian Rabbinate (ignorant of its contents) and with a number of forged testimonials. His campaign of deception reached a culminating point in Amsterdam, where he plunged the Portuguese and the German communities into civil war, and ultimately brought about his own downfall.

Chayon's staunchest supporter in Amsterdam was the Sephardic Haham, Solomon Ayllon, who was likewise of Palestinean birth, and

had lived among a Sabbataian sect in Salonica in his early years. Ayllon is another interesting character, as after various adventures he actually foisted himself on the Sephardic community in London, where he was appointed Haham in 1689, and retained office for ten years. Attacks were, indeed, made on his personal character as soon as his early history was discovered, but the Mahamad took his side. In Amsterdam, his opponents in the Chayon controversy were the Ashkenazic Rabbi, Zevi Ashkenazi, and Moses Chages, of Jerusalem, who played the part of a Grand Inquisitor in Jewry. It should be observed that in this strife the leaders of the Portuguese community were committed to support Chayon owing to the attitude of their spiritual chief, Ayllon.

Notes :—

This chapter illustrates the dictum that Jewish history, where it is not a record of persecutions and expulsions, is mainly concerned with the intellectual development of the people, though the present chapter marks a temporary arrest in that development.

The mischief wrought by the various Messianic impostures was all the more serious, as not only was the purity of the Jewish faith defiled but its moral foundations were undermined.

It is interesting to note that several of the Cabbalistic writings of Ayllon, Cardoso, and other authors of the time, are to be found in manuscript form in English libraries (British Museum, Bodleian, &c.) and private collections. These writings reached London owing to their authors generally being "messengers" from Palestine, who travelled through Europe to obtain funds for the poor in the Holy Land, and included England within their canvassing campaign. The only known work left by Ayllon is in the manuscript collection of the Beth Hamidrash, St. James' Place, Aldgate.

The name Ayllon is derived from a town of that name in the Spanish province of Segovia.

Zevi Ashkenazi, like his opponent Ayllon, also made a stay in London (1711—16), but refused the post of Haham offered to him by the Sephardic congregation.

Recommended Reading :—

On the whole subject of the False Messiahs consult the article, Pseudo-Messiah in the *Jewish Encyclopædia*;

For further particulars of Ayllon's sojourn in London consult Dr. Gaster's "Memorial History of Bevis Marks Synagogue," pp. 22—31, and 107—111. His spelling *Ayllon* is characterised by the *Jewish Encyclopædia* as incorrect. Both these works contain a portrait of Ayllon.

For a separate treatment of Chayon see the article in the *Jewish Encyclopædia* on Hayyun. It may here be noted that most of the names beginning with *Ch* will be found in the *Encyclopædia* under *H*; it is simply a difference of transliteration of the Hebrew letter *Heth*.

An interesting account of the crypto-Jewish sect, the Dönmeh (given in Graetz as Donmäh), will be found in the *Jewish Encyclopædia*. See also E. N. Adler's *Jews in Many Lands*, p. 146.

On Zevi Ashkenazi see art. in *Jewish Encyclopædia*, vol. ii. (note misprint 1705 for 1715, bottom of p. 203, left column), and *Transactions of Jewish History Society* iii., p. 102, sqq.

Printer's Error.—On p. 245 of Graetz (vol. v.), the word "prescriptions" should be "proscriptions."

II.—THE AGE OF LUZZATTO, EIBESCHUTZ, AND FRANK, 1727—1760, c.c

Graetz, vol. v., ch. vii.

This chapter continues the story of the effects of the Pseudo-Messianic heresy. It deals with four important figures, each coming from a different centre and possessed of a different individuality, but all concerned in one way or another with the Sabbataian cult. The Italian Luzzatto, the Galician Eibeschütz, the German Emden, and the Polish Frank, have each stamped their names on the pages of Jewish history, but only in the case of one—the first—is there a modicum of true glory attaching to it.

Luzzatto (1707—1747) was a poet of genius, and his literary achievements are of greater importance for Hebrew literature than his religio-mystical activity is for Jewish history in general. He was probably the most honest of the false Messiahs: he sought no gain for himself, nor did he plunge others into misery. The poetical spirit often soars into the mystical region: in his case there were already a mystical atmosphere and mystical rites around him, so that his transition was precipitated. Both in regard to technique and to loftiness of style and subject, his Hebrew prosody is of the highest order. With his *Migdal Oz* (Tower of Strength), an allegorical drama, he broke away from the traditions of mediæval

poetry; and his greatest work, *Layesharim Tehilla* (Praise to the Righteous, 1743), definitely opens the Renaissance of Hebrew literature, which has reached its highest development in Russia at the present day.

The names of Eibeschütz (1690—1764) and Emden will always be associated owing to the fierce controversy between them about the Sabbataian amulet. It is difficult to acquit Eibeschütz of the suspicion that he was responsible for the heretical amulets, though impartial historians are inclined to give him the benefit of the doubt. His great influence as a Rabbinical authority procured him extensive support, and tended to weaken the charges brought against him. He was a man of tireless ambition, and the evidence shows him possessed of little scruple in securing his vindication. The eulogy penned by the apostate, Charles Antony, even if not dictated by Eibeschütz, was inspired by him, and—to say the least—it alienates all sympathy from him.

Jacob Emden Ashkenazi (1698—1776) was largely actuated by personal hostility, however sincere his zeal for the true faith. He inherited the spirit of combativeness from his father, Zevi Ashkenazi, who was the antagonist of Ayllon in Amsterdam earlier in the century. He was quick-tempered and jealous, and quarrelled with almost all his contemporaries, though in this he perhaps only showed the irritability of most authors, for he was a very prolific writer, and composed a number of Rabbinical and polemical works.

Jacob Frank (1726—1791) carried the Pseudo-Messianic heresy to its worst extremes, and was undoubtedly a most unscrupulous adventurer. The sect that he founded was at first known as the “Zoharites” (so called after the Cabbalistic work, the Zohar), but they afterwards adopted the name of Frankists. Their antagonism to the Talmud was not only shown in the two public disputations (1757 and 1759) held in the Lemberg Cathedral, but more notoriously in their licentious practices. Their adoption of Christianity was altogether insincere, for even after baptism they preserved their separateness and continued to intermarry among themselves. Frank’s easy conversion from his own heresy to Christianity, and from Christianity to Islam, is sufficient proof of his utter lack of religious principle. Unfortunately, his sect was not only without any religious principle, but even without any moral principle. Its origin was due as much to the social and economic upheaval in Polish Jewry as to the degeneration of the Messianic movement of Sabbatai Zevi into religious mysticism.

Notes :—

Safed, to which Luzzatto ultimately retired, was an important centre of Jewish mystics from the 16th century.

In the Amulet Controversy it should be noted that there was no objection raised to the amulets as such, but only to the heretical prayer they contained. A copy of an amulet prepared by Eibeschütz will be found in the *Jewish Encyclopædia* (vol. v., art. Eibes-chütz), which takes an impartial view of the controversy.

Jacob Ashkenazi derived his name of Emden from the Prussian maritime town of Emden in the province of Hanover, where he held the post of Rabbi for five years (1728—1733).

It should be observed that both in the Eibeschütz and the Frank affairs the civil authorities were dragged in,—an extreme measure that generally aggravates the seriousness of the case. So far as Eibeschütz was concerned, even before he came into collision with Emden he inflicted a great wrong on the Jews of Bohemia and Moravia, as he was ultimately responsible (however unintentionally) for the decree of banishment issued against them (1744).

Note the parallelism between the controversy of Emden and Eibeschütz in one generation and that of Ashkenazi and Ayllon in the preceding generation.

The Bodleian Library contains a commentary on Lamentations and some homilies on the Pentateuch by Eibeschütz in manuscript.

Jacob (or Jankev) Leibovicz received the name of Frank owing to his long sojourn in Turkey, that name usually being given in the Orient to a European.

Note the part afterwards played by Frank's beautiful daughter, Eve, in the activity of the sect; a frequent phenomenon when fanatical sectarianism degenerates into a mystic cult. On the death of her father, Eve became "holy mistress" and leader of the sect; she died neglected in 1816.

"The sect disappeared without leaving any traces in Judaism because it had no positive religious-ethical foundation. Attempts to formulate the teachings of Frank upon the basis of a collection of his utterances preserved in manuscript have so far failed. There is no doubt, however, that Frankism consisted in a negation of the religious as well as of the ethical discipline of Judaism. (*Jewish Encyclopædia*, v. 477)."

Recommended Reading :—

The *Jewish Encyclopædia* can be consulted with advantage for its articles on Luzzatto, Emden, Eibeschütz (given as Eybeschütz), and Frank. Both portraits and autographs are given of Eibeschütz and his antagonist.

The article on "Amulet" should also be read: it is illustrated by an interesting plate showing specimens of different kinds of amulets.

III.—THE MENDELSSOHN EPOCH, 1750—1786, C.E.

Graetz, vol. v., ch. viii.

Moses Mendelssohn (1729—1786) is the greatest Jewish figure in the 18th century, and one of the worthies of general Jewish history. His personality and his writings acted as a powerful stimulus to the intellectual development of Jewry, not only in his own country but throughout the greater part of Europe. It may even be said that his influence was greater after his death than during his life, for his teachings continued to mould the minds of Jews throughout the 19th century, and are dominant now in every enlightened community in Europe and America. Mendelssohn opened a new epoch in Jewish history by his translation of the Pentateuch; this liberated the Jewish mind that had too long been fettered by the formalism of the Talmud, and prepared the way towards participation in general culture.

Mendelssohn's activity was twofold: he was not only a leader of thought within his own community, but also acted as an expositor of Judaism to the Christian world. His literary and philosophical attainments, his intercourse with the cultured circles of Berlin, and his friendship with Lessing, all caused the highest value to be attached by the Gentile world to whatever he wrote. The essential factor in his greatness, however, was himself. A Jew who had surpassed Kant in philosophical lucidity and inspired Lessing to write his drama of "Nathan the Wise," was of no ordinary mettle. Spiritually Mendelssohn was heir of Maimonides, and like most of the heroes of Jewish history he achieved his victories by the pen, not by the sword. Theologian and philosopher by intellectual bent, there is a moral grandeur in his character which shines out in all the controversies that his activity produced.

Mendelssohn not only brought about the intellectual emancipation of Jewry, but also contributed towards its political emanci-

pation, through the instrumentality of his friend, Christian William Dohm, who composed an elaborate defence of the Jews, and pleaded that civil rights should be granted to them (2 vols., 1781).

In his exposition of Judaism Mendelssohn always insisted that its principles "are not only comprehensible to the human mind, but also demonstrable by human powers." He emphasised the fact that Judaism is more a religion of conduct than of creed, and that it fully permits liberty of conscience and of thought. However salutary and even necessary his teachings appeared at first, they led to disastrous consequences very soon after his death (the apostasy of his daughters and of many cultured Jews) and are always appealed to as the sanction of the advocates of assimilation. There is a bitter truth in Graetz's remark that Mendelssohn and Wessely "who had felt so much at ease in the old structure [of Judaism], and wished only to see it cleansed here and there from cobwebs and the fungus with which it was overgrown, contributed to sap its foundations."

Notes :—

This chapter will doubtless be found too long for a single reading, but as it deals with a complete epoch it would hardly be expedient to divide it in this syllabus. It may be found convenient, however, to make a break at p. 355, where the account of the early stages of political emancipation begins. This account seems a digression at first sight, but its pertinence becomes evident on subsequent reading.

Mendelssohn is sometimes called Moses Dessau, after the place of his birth.

It should be remembered that Mendelssohn never occupied an official position in the Jewish community of Berlin. In 1750 he was engaged by a rich silk manufacturer, Isaac Bernhard, as tutor to his children : in 1754 he became his book-keeper, then his representative, and finally his partner.

The *first* period (1755—1770) of his activity was devoted to writing on philosophy, æsthetics, and criticism : his contributions to German criticism are important, and he directly influenced the *Laokoon* of Lessing. After an interval for the restoration of his health began his *second* period (1774—1786), which was devoted almost entirely to Jewish interests—political and intellectual emancipation.

The following is a fairly complete chronological list of his chief works :—

1755: *Philosophical Conversations. Pope, a Metaphysician* (written jointly with Lessing). *Letters on the Emotions* (æsthetic criticism).

1763: *On the Evidene of the Metaphysical Sciences* (Prize Essay, Berlin Academy of Sciences).

1767: *Phædo*, or the Immortality of the Soul: chief philosophical work, procured the author the titles of “the German Plato” and “the German Socrates.”

1770: *Epistle to Lavater* (refuting Bonnet’s work on Christianity).

1780: German translation of Genesis.

1783: German translation of Pentateuch and Psalms.

Jerusalem, on “*Ecclesiastical Authority and Judaism*” (Eng. trans. by M. Samuels, London, 1838): in this work M. lays down the proposition that Judaism, in contradistinction to Christianity, has “no dogma whose acceptance is necessary for salvation.”

1785: *Morgenstunden*—Lectures on the Existence of God.

Besides his friendship with Lessing, Mendelssohn was also in close association with Nicolai, editor of literary reviews to which he contributed. Lessing’s influence on Jewry was probably greater than that on the German world; his dramatic career began with his play of *Die Juden* (1749) and ended with his masterpiece of *Nathan der Weise* (1779).

Wessely is of importance for the Renaissance of Hebrew literature; his name will be met with again in ch. x.

Mendelssohn left three sons and three daughters: the latter adopted Christianity after their father’s death. The famous composer, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, was a grandson of the philosopher.

Recommended Reading :—

For a dispassionate account of Mendelssohn’s life and work see the article in the *Jewish Encyclopædia*.

On his religious philosophy, see Dr. M. Friedländer, *The Jewish Religion*, pp. 16—18, 35; Rev. M. Joseph, *Judaism as Creed and Life*, p. 48, 94 n, etc.; S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism* (essay on “Dogmas of Judaism”). The article on “The Mendelssohnian

Programme," by Prof. Max L. Margolis, in *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, April, 1905 (xvii., p. 531), will also be found of interest.

On M.'s place in the intellectual development of Jewry, see essay on "Jewish Philosophy of Religion" in Dr. S. A. Hirsch's *Book of Essays* (p. 184).

On the exegetic school founded by Mendelssohn, see art. on "Biurists" (commentators) in *Jewish Encyclopædia*. See also I. Abrahams, *Chapters on Jewish Literature*, pp. 253—260, and Karpeles, *Jewish Literature and Other Essays*, p. 293.

Read also "Maimon the Fool and Nathan the Wise" in Zangwill's *Dreamers of the Ghetto*, and the essay in Lady Magnus' *Jewish Portraits: Lessing's Nathan the Wise* should certainly be read, and the origin and results of its production studied.

On the Jewish Naturalisation Bill of 1753 in England, see Picciotto's *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, and the art. on "England" in *Jewish Encyclopædia*.

IV.—THE NEW CHASSIDISM, 1750—1786, C.E.

Graetz, vol. v., ch. ix.

This chapter continues the story of the mystical movement as left off in ch. vii. Henceforth the movement takes a new form and is free from the morally objectionable practices attaching to the Pseudo-Messianic outbursts. The founder of the sect of Chassidim, Israel of Miedziboz (c. 1698—1759), was known as the *Baal Shem* (Master of the Name), a designation given to "certain people who were supposed to work miracles through the name of God." He wrote amulets and effected cures by herbs, though he refrained from the quackery of his fellow-craftsmen. He had a large following of the lower classes in Podolia and Volhynia; instituted religious ablutions and the wearing of white garments; and indulged in prophetic visions and gesticulation in prayer. There was an obvious antagonism between Chassidism and the Talmud, though its founder actually sided with the latter. The excitement brought on by the conversion of the Frankists to Christianity hastened the death of Israel Besht.

His successor, Beer (or Baer), of Mizricz (Meseritz; 1700—1772), was the most important propagator of Chassidism. He was known as the *Zaddik*, a combination of saint and wizard, and he claimed to be a representative of God. He was a Talmudical authority and an artful thaumaturgist; his pretended omniscience was sustained

through a band of industrious spies : and he demanded confession and tribute from his followers. He held a weekly court on the Sabbath, and his retinue contained many earnest as well as worthless men. He adopted the prayer-book of Isaac Lurya, the chief Cabbalist, and appointed apostles to spread his teachings.

The progress of the movement was favoured by the dissolution of the Jewish Synod of the "Four Countries" and the internal political unrest in Poland. The first violent attack upon it was made by Elijah, the Gaon of Wilna (1720—1797), who launched a ban against the sectarians on the formation of a circle in Wilna (1772). On the death of Beer, the Chassidim broke up into groups, each of which appointed its leader or *Rebbe*, whilst at the head of the entire sect there continued to be the *Zaddik*. In 1781 another ban was issued against the Chassidim, and their writings were burnt in Cracow and Brody.

Notes :—

Israel Besht is an interesting figure in modern Jewish legend. The name Besht is formed from the initials (Baal Shem-Tob = Master of the Good Name). The term Baal Shem first arose, about 1500, among the German-Polish Jews when they became acquainted with the practical Cabbala of Lurya. Originally the Baal Shem was applied to those considered great saints, but two centuries later it had developed into a profession—a combination of quack-doctor and Cabbalist.

Note that Besht, in opposition to Lurya's Cabbala, fought against asceticism and insisted on joy in prayer. The term *Hithlahalut* (p. 402), rendered "inspiration," literally means "self-enkindlement," i.e., ecstatic ardour : it is a *Hithpa'el* form from *tahab* = flame.

The term *Mitnagdim* is a *Hithpa'el* form from *neged* = "opposite" ; it literally means "protestants." This term is still extant in Russian Jewry, being used to differentiate the general body from the Chassidim, who have even transplanted their prayer-houses and ritual to Western Europe and America. The word *Rebbe* (p. 416) is, of course, nothing but a vocal corruption of *Rabbi* (= my master, teacher).

"It may be said of Chasidism that, with the exception of Jesus and the Judæo-Christians, there is no other Jewish sect in which the founder is as important as his doctrines (*Jewish Encyclopædia*, ii., 385)."

Note (p. 408) Graetz's explanation how it was that Talmudists were driven into the Chassidic ranks. His remark (p. 418) that the Chassidim "represented a just principle, that of opposing the excesses of Talmudism," is hardly tenable, since excesses of one kind are not to be opposed by excesses of another kind, but by the exercise of reason.

Recommended Reading :—

Schechter's essay on the Chassidim in his *Studies in Judaism* should be read by all who desire a thorough understanding of the subject. This should be supplemented by the articles in the *Jewish Encyclopædia*, ii., on "Baal Shem," "Israel Baal Shem-Tob," and "Baer of Meseritz."

Zangwill's imaginative study of "The Master of the Name," in his *Dreamers of the Ghetto*, will help to a vivid appreciation of the character.

On the Chassidim in modern Jerusalem, see E. N. Adler's *Jews in Many Lands*, pp. 50—56.

On the Gaon Elijah of Wilna, see Schechter's essay in his *Studies in Judaism*.

For an account of the exploits of a Baal Shem in England see the article on "Falk, Hayyim Samuel Jacob," by the Rev. Dr. Herman Adler, in *Jewish Encyclopædia*, v. 331.

V.—THE VOTARIES OF CULTURE, 1786—1791, C.E.

(Graetz, vol. v., ch. x.)

The heading here given comprises the *Meassefim* and the Judæo-Christian Salon. The chapter may be divided into three distinct parts, though they are all closely related to one another. First, we have the founding of the Hebrew journal *Meassef* (Gatherer, 1783), which disseminated modern culture; then the activity of the three philosophers, Herz, Maimon, and Bendavid; and lastly, the creation of literary salons by Jewish women with deplorable consequences.

The Hebrew writers purified the ancient language of Rabbinical forms of expression, and endeavoured to restore to it the classical character of the Bible. They were all animated by a striving for culture, coming under the immediate influence of Mendelssohn; and the movement founded in Germany spread to Holland, France,

and Italy. The result was a prolific literature in polished Hebrew, both prose and verse, but the writers were rather skilled versifiers than true poets. The stimulus was not religious enthusiasm, but humanism.

The three philosophers, Marcus Herz (1747—1803), Solomon Maimon (1753—1800), and Lazarus Bendavid (1762—1832), were all disciples of Kant, and helped as much as other German thinkers at the end of the 18th century to spread the Kantian philosophy. Maimon was the most interesting character of the trio, though he did not deliver public lectures like the others. Herz was the most prolific author, in addition to which he was a successful physician. Bendavid was of a retiring disposition, and was nicknamed "The Modern Diogenes." Heine called him "a sage after the pattern of antiquity."

The salon opened by Henriette Herz precipitated the first disastrous results that followed from Mendelssohn's advocacy of modern culture. The eagerness with which Christians of the highest rank frequented this and other salons was due partly to the personal charms of the Jewish women and partly to their intellectual brilliance. But the apostasy and even immorality to which this intimate intercourse ultimately led, proved that there was neither Judaism nor Christianity in these literary circles, but elemental Paganism. The saddest feature in this moral downfall was the part played by Mendelssohn's daughters, Dorothea and Henriette.

To apportion any blame to the meek philosopher for the consequences of his teaching is difficult, as he could hardly have foreseen them; though such lack of prevision certainly detracts from the value of his philosophy. He advocated "enlightenment," but also expounded the virtues of Judaism and exposed the falsities of Christianity. His generation adopted the "enlightenment" and were blinded by the flattery of Christian society to the verities of the Jewish faith. The failure of his system proves its incompleteness: philosophical proofs of religion are only for the study and require supplementing. In an age of reason he should have strengthened the historic consciousness of the Jew, but like his spiritual predecessor, Maimonides, he held history in low esteem.

Notes :—

The two most important figures in the early history of modern Hebrew literature are Wessely (1725—1805), author of the *Mosaid*, an epic on the Exodus, and Mendes (1713—1792), whose best work was an adaptation of Racine's *Athalie*. It should be observed that

the predominant tone in modern Hebrew literature is not religious, but secular.

Maimon derived his name from Maimonides, whose "Guide to the Perplexed" brought about his intellectual awakening. He acquired fame through his *Autobiography*, of which there is an English translation (by J. Clark Murray, 1888. Alexander Gardner, Paisley). The copy in Dr. Williams' Library, Gordon Square, belonged to George Eliot, and contains marginal notes in her own handwriting.

Bendavid was not so unimportant in his day as Graetz makes him appear. He was a radical Bible critic, and pleaded for the abolition of ceremonial laws.

Henriette Herz was not only a striking beauty but a remarkable linguist. Among her friends were Schiller, Jean Paul Richter, Mirabeau, Rückert, and Niebühr. A sympathetic (if not partial) presentment of her life is given by Miss Henrietta Szold in the *Jewish Encyclopædia* (vi., 366), which also contains her portrait.

The influence of French literature and German Romanticism on the Judæo-Christian salon simply proves how little serious hold Judaism had on its Jewish members. The latter lacked both the faith and philosophy of Mendelssohn, and by their conduct actually disproved his contentions. The epidemic of apostasy with which the 18th century ends in Germany is a tragic epilogue to *Nathan the Wise*.

David Friedländer played an important part in the reformation of Jewish education in Berlin. The effect of his labours, however, was to transform Jewish into non-Jewish education; and in his endeavours to secure political emancipation for his co-religionists he showed an utter lack of religious principle.

Recommended Reading :—

Besides the article on Henriette Herz (already referred to), those on Dorothea and Henriette Mendelssohn, Rahel Levin, Marcus Herz, Lazarus Bendavid, and David Friedländer, should be read in the *Jewish Encyclopædia*.

On the subject of Jewish emancipation in Germany, see the article by the Rev. Dr. A. Wolf in the *Jewish Literary Annual* for 1904.

Solomon Maimon's *Autobiography* will be found very interesting. He is pictured to the life in Zangwill's *Dreamers of the Ghetto* ("Maimon the Fool and Nathan the Wise").

On the subject of Jewish education see *Jewish Encyclopædia*, v., 47.

VI.—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE EMANCIPATION OF THE JEWS, 1791—1805.

Graetz, vol. v., ch. xi.

In this chapter we have the story of the attainment of Jewish emancipation in France and Holland, of the continued struggle for civil rights in Germany, and of an attempt to improve the situation in Russia.

The French Revolution will always form a landmark in Jewish history, for it was by its agency that the political emancipation of the Jews in Europe first became a fact. Its work was, of course, restricted to granting civil rights to the Jews in France; but its example was soon followed by Holland, and its influence was even felt in other countries. Count Mirabeau and Abbé Grégoire were the chief French advocates of Jewish rights; the most prominent champion of his own people was Cerf Berr, the Jewish army contractor of Alsace.

The different stages in the struggle for emancipation in France were as follows:—

1784: Abolition of poll-tax and freedom of domicile decreed by Louis XVI.

1789: Freedom of religion decreed.

1790: Civil rights granted to Portuguese Jews of Avignon by National Assembly. Abolition of all special taxes on Jews of Alsace.

1791: Civil rights granted to all Jews in France by National Assembly.

The struggle was short and decisive; its success would have come even earlier, had it not been for the strong anti-Jewish prejudice in Alsace. As in the early stages Cerf Berr, so in the final stages Berr Isaac Berr rendered doughty service to the Jewish cause. In the Reign of Terror the Jews were subjected to much suffering, yet they fought in the Army of the Republic, and many fell on the battle-field.

In Holland civil rights were granted to the Jews in 1796, with scarce a struggle. On the contrary, the lay and spiritual leaders of the Amsterdam community were originally opposed to political emancipation, fearing it might prove injurious to religious conformity. Within two years (1798) a Jew, Isaac da Costa Atias, had become President of the Batavian National Assembly.

But in Germany the struggle was unavailing. The poet Goethe and the philosopher Fichte were both opposed to Jewish emancipation. There was an outbreak of anti-Jewish pamphlets, and the proposal was actually made to revive the obnoxious badge. The most harassing grievance was the poll-tax, which Wolff Breidenbach succeeded in getting abolished in the Rhineland and Bavaria.

In Russia Alexander I. (1804) exempted Jewish manufacturers, artisans, farmers, and university men, from restrictive laws; but inflicted a hardship on Jewish villagers in compelling them to migrate to the towns.

Notes :—

The Jews of France soon proved their patriotism by serving in the National Guard in Paris, Bordeaux, &c. To contribute to the Republican War fund, candelabra of synagogues were sold.

The antipathy of the Sephardic to the Ashkenazic Jews in the emancipation struggle was a very unpleasant feature, especially as the former actually disparaged their co-religionists before the National Assembly.

Note (p. 494) the dignified act of the French Government in securing for its Jewish subjects exemption from the poll-tax when travelling in Germany.

Had Napoleon's promise of conquering Palestine and restoring 't to the Jewish people been realised, the Jewish question would now have a different complexion.

Holland was the first country in which Jews were appointed to public positions.

The "national instinctive German hatred of the Jew," of which Graetz says that Fichte may be regarded as "the father and apostle," is now known by the unfortunately familiar name of Anti-Semitism.

Alexander I.'s decree compelling Jewish villagers to remove to the towns was repeated by the late Tsar, Alexander III., and is strictly enforced, resulting in the congested population of the Pale of Settlement.

Recommended Reading :—

An excellent little book on the French Revolution is that of Mrs. B. M. Gardiner in the "Epochs of Modern History" series (Longmans).

There is no general article on political emancipation in the *Jewish Encyclopædia*; the articles on the respective countries (France, Holland, Germany, &c.) must therefore be consulted.

VII.—THE JEWISH SYNHEDRION IN FRANCE, 1806—1813.

Graetz, vol. v., ch. xii.

This chapter deals with two distinct subjects: (1) the Jewish Synhedrion in France, and (2) the continued struggle for emancipation in German-speaking countries. In both sections the figure of Napoleon is dominant.

(1) The civil equality of the Jews granted by the National Assembly was constantly threatened by the Jew-haters of Alsace. The peasants of the province, impoverished by the Revolution, borrowed money from Jewish money-lenders; and disputes arising about repayment, a general agitation against the Jews was fomented, in which the guild-merchants and religious reactionaries took part. Napoleon, being petitioned to abrogate Jewish rights, submitted the question to his State Council and then convened an Assembly of Jewish Notables to deliberate on the matter, meanwhile revoking the civil equality of the Jewish usurers in North France.

The object of the Assembly was to prove the compatibility of Judaism with citizenship, to vindicate the Jewish character, and to remedy economic evils in Jewry. Abraham Furtado (of Marrano descent) presided over the 111 deputies, whose first sitting took place July 25th, 1806, in Paris. To the 12 questions submitted by the Imperial Commissioners (dealing chiefly with patriotism, inter-marriage, and usury) replies were drawn up under the direction of David Sinzheim, Rabbi of Strasburg. So pleased was Napoleon with the result, that he convened a Jewish Synhedrion (based on the model of Temple times) to carry into effect the decisions of the Assembly. The Synhedrion met on February 9th, 1807, and soon discharged its labours under the presidency of Sinzheim.

The sequel to these imposing gatherings, which had made the whole of Europe agog with excitement, was an anti-climax. After inspiring the Jews with great hope, Napoleon issued (1808) a law restricting their commercial freedom, thus actually going back

upon the famous decree of 1791. A storm of protest arose, and finally only the German-speaking Jews (in Alsace) had to suffer a temporary suspension of their commercial freedom.

(2) There was no uniformity with regard to Jewish emancipation in German-speaking countries. In the new kingdom of *Westphalia* (under Jerome, Napoleon's brother) complete civil equality was granted to the Jews (1808), and Israel Jacobson convened a Consistory of 22 Notables in Cassel, over which he presided. Duke Charles of *Baden* was the first German prince to give the Jews a restricted amount of liberty. In the Duchy of *Frankfort* the Jews bought their civil equality for 440,000 florins, to be paid in instalments (1811). The *Hanseatic Towns* (Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen) granted civil rights under French pressure (1811). In *Prussia* Frederick William III. first abolished the system of "protected Jews," and then (1812) conceded complete civil equality, but excluded Jews from all offices in the State service. In *Bavaria* and *Austria* no rights were granted, and Jews who entered Vienna had to submit to a new poll-tax. In *Saxony* only a few privileged Jews were allowed in Dresden and Leipzig; they were heavily taxed and forbidden to build a synagogue.

Notes :—

The decision of the Paris Synhedrion on intermarriage was as follows: "Marriages between Israelites and Christians when concluded in accordance with the civil code are valid, and though they cannot be solemnized by the religious rites of Judaism, they should not be subject to the ban." Graetz rightly calls this reply to Napoleon's question evasive (p. 529), since Napoleon wanted to know the Jewish law on the subject (not the civil law or the personal opinion of the delegates), and intermarriage is certainly forbidden by Jewish law. The term "intermarriage" does not apply to the union between a member of the Jewish faith and a convert, which, like all Jewish marriages, must be solemnised with religious rites.

In order to give legal effect to the principles laid down by the Synhedrion, Napoleon, by special decree (March 17th, 1808) instituted the system of consistories—ecclesiastical courts, with a central consistory in Paris—which are in force to the present day.

Milman suggests that Napoleon had a political motive in convening the Synhedrion, the hope of turning to his own advantage "the wide-extended and rapid correspondence of the Jews throughout the world . . . and the secret ramifications of their trade." But there are no grounds for such a presumption.

On p. 515 Graetz says that only two Rabbis were elected to the Assembly of Notables; on p. 521 he speaks of "the four most eminent Rabbis." The Assembly included several Rabbis.

Note the misprint "Russia" for "Prussia" in the heading on p. 541. The same misprint occurs in the list of contents at the beginning of the chapter, p. 504.

Recommended Reading :—

For further details about the Paris Synhedrion see the articles in the *Jewish Encyclopædia* on "Sanhedrin (French)," "Consistory," and "Intermarriage."

Mr. Israel Abrahams, in his *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (p.249), gives a list of the occupations of the delegates to the Assembly in 1806.

See also *Jewish Quarterly Review* xv., pp. 493—8 (April, 1903), part of article on "The Beginnings of the Reform Movement in Judaism," by the Rev. Dr. D. Philipson.

Milman (who is not generally reliable, though always interesting) gives the "Twelve Questions" seriatim and the corresponding replies (*History of the Jews*, Book xxviii.).

VIII.—THE REACTION AND GERMANISM, 1813–1818.

Graetz, vol. v., ch. xiii.

Napoleon's downfall resulted in a serious reaction against the tolerance and emancipation that the Jews had begun to enjoy. Despite the sacrifices they had made by fighting in the wars for the liberation of Germany, they were deprived of their hard-won civil equality in most of the important cities. In France alone was Jewish liberty left untrammelled. A new foe that arose against the Jews was Christian Germanism—the spirit that wished to identify the State and nation with the religion, and to suppress all heterodox elements. The most violent exponent of this Chauvinistic spirit was Frederick Rühs, professor of history at the Berlin University, who advocated in a pamphlet the conversion of the Jews and, in the meanwhile, the restoration of the badge and special taxes.

At the Congress of Vienna (1814–15), at which the various German States were represented, promises were made to improve the Jewish condition, but they did not reach fulfilment. Prussia

and Austria made a show of great tolerance, and even sought to impel the other States to similar leniency. But the Hanse Towns expelled the Jews, Frankfort imposed restrictive laws, and then Austria, too, enacted special decrees, and Prussia followed suit. The Tyrol and certain villages in Bohemia and Moravia were closed to the Jews; liberty of trade and residence in the rest of the country was hampered; and the Ghetto emerged. The eloquent memorial on behalf of the Jews presented by the English enthusiast, Lewis Way, to the Congress (1818) at Aix, of the Sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia simply produced a polite acknowledgment.

The reaction reached a disastrous climax early in the year 1819, when a series of attacks broke out against the Jews of Germany, accompanied by the mediæval features of pillage, massacre, and expulsion. Starting at Würzburg, the riots spread to Frankfort, Bamberg, Darmstadt, Bayreuth, Düsseldorf, and Heidelberg. The authorities either remained passive or encouraged the populace. Even in Copenhagen an attack was made by the mob, but it was soon suppressed by the better classes. The "Hep, Hep! Persecution," as it is known, culminated in the appearance of Hundt's pamphlet ("Mirror of the Jews"), which advocated a general slaughter of the Jews.

Notes :—

"In the period between 1815 and 1847 there were no less than 21 territorial Jews' laws in the eight provinces of the Prussian State, of which each one had to be observed by a part of the Jews. (*Jewish Encyclopædia*, v., p. 634)."

The Napoleonic law suspending the commercial freedom of the Jews of Alsace expired in 1818, and was not renewed.

Note that it was on the initiative of Lewis Way that the "London Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews" was founded in 1807.

The cry "Hep, Hep!" is supposed by some to have been used by the Crusaders in their attacks on the Jews, but it probably first arose in the Frankfort riot of 1819. Besides the meaning given by Graetz (*Hierosolyma est perdita*—Jerusalem is destroyed), the term is derived by some from "Hab, hab!" and by others is regarded as a contraction of *Hebraer*. The German riots in 1819 present a remarkable similarity to the *pogroms* in Russia to-day.

With regard to Graetz's remark (p. 566) about the Rothschilds thinking of leaving Frankfort on account of the riot, it should be noted that twenty years before this event Nathan Meyer Rothschild, third son of Meyer Amschel Rothschild, the founder of the famous family, left for England, and after living in Manchester for a few years (from 1798), settled in London in 1804 as a naturalised subject. He was the grandfather of the present Lord Rothschild. The old Rothschild house in the Frankfort *Juden-gasse* can be seen to this day, though in a rather renovated condition: it is kept as a family museum. No traces are left of the original character of the *Juden-gasse*, which now bears the name of Börne Strasse, and has electric trams running through it.

It is a sad reflection that neither Varnhagen von Ense (who was in a position of influence) and his wife Rahel Levin, nor Jean Paul Richter, made any protest against the Jewish persecutions. On the other hand, the Cortes of Portugal, repenting the mediæval intolerance, proposed to re-admit the banished Jews.

Recommended Reading :—

See the article on "Hep! Hep!" in the *Jewish Encyclopædia* by Joseph Jacobs, and also the article on Germany.

IX.—BORNE AND HEINE, 1819—1830.

Graetz, vol. v., ch. xiv.

The justice of including an account of Börne and Heine in a Jewish history is frequently disputed owing to the apostasy of those gifted sons of Israel. Graetz defends such inclusion on the ground that their adoption of Christianity was merely formal and quite insincere, and that throughout their literary career they both displayed characteristics that are essentially Jewish. In other words, the ephemeral act of baptism, being unaccompanied by any change of faith, is altogether overshadowed by a lifelong activity, in which the mental qualities inherited with Jewish birth are in constant evidence. This may be called a plea resting on a psychological basis. But the plea can be supplied with a much stronger basis—that of history itself, consisting in the fact that the ultimate effect of the vigorous dissemination of their liberal ideas by Börne and Heine was the rise of the party of "Young Germany," which inaugurated an era of broader toleration for the Jew. Had this end been achieved by the activity of professing Christians, Jewish history would not have failed to record their labours. As the

instruments in the present case were only nominal Christians but Jews in almost every other sense, an account of their activity is certainly not less justifiable: for history must trace events to their causes and describe them, however reprehensible the personal embodiments of those causes may be from a religious point of view. But the inclusion of the names of Börne and Heine is by no means to be regarded as an apologia for their apostasy—an act which their fame does not atone, but only throws into repellent relief.

Börne was baptised at the age of thirty-two (1818), Heine at that of twenty-six (1825). Neither was troubled about the doctrines of Judaism: both were affected only by the unæsthetic exterior of the Jewry of their environment. But the effective stimulus in the case of both was the hope of materially improving their position in intolerant Germany: a hope that was frustrated. Both, again, came under the influence of the salon of Rahel Levin, which not only inspired them with prejudice against Jewry, but sharpened their satire against Christendom. Börne was more of the politician, Heine more of the poet; to this difference was probably due Heine's greater love for his people, for the love of his later years was much stronger and more reasoned than the hatred of his youth. In Heine there was a constant conflict between the Hebrew ideal of the morally good and the Hellenist ideal of the physically beautiful. Börne, however, was not concerned with abstract speculation, and was wholly animated by a passion for liberty.

Notes :—

Börne's chief writings were *Monographie der deutschen Pöbel-Schnecke* (1821) and *Briefe aus Paris* (1830).

The name of Börne has been given to the former *Judengasse* in Frankfort, where he was born.

Börne settled in Paris in 1830, Heine in 1831.

“Heine constantly strove to act the same part of mediator between French and German culture as the Spanish Jews had acted between the Christians and Moors of Spain. In particular he collaborated with Ludwig Börne, though not in direct association with him, in the attempt to create an intellectual party in Germany which would apply to German institutions and conceptions the freedom and force of French revolutionary ideas. By this means the two helped to create the party of ‘Young Germany’ in literature and politics (*Jewish Encyclopedia*, vi., p. 328).”

Apart from his "Confessions," Heine's Jewish sympathies are most strikingly shown in his "Almansor," "The Rabbi of Bacharach," and "Romanzero." The second of these is a brilliant fragment of a romance, dealing with the persecution of the Jews by the Crusaders. "Romanzero" consists of three distinct poems dealing with Jehuda Halevi, a Talmudical Disputation, and "Princess Sabbath." The finely conceived presentment of Jehuda Halevi was doubtless drawn from the *Religiose Poesie der Juden in Spanien* of Michael Sachs.

Heine's bitterest saying about Judaism was: "Judaism is not a religion; it is a misfortune." It is another misfortune that Heine should have written this.

Recommended Reading :—

The best study of Börne and Heine will be found in their own writings.

There is an excellent life of Heine in the *Great Writers* series (Walter Scott) by William Sharp, containing a full bibliography. From this it will be seen that all Heine's works have been translated into English.

The articles on Börne and Heine in the *Jewish Encyclopædia* are both good reading. In that on Heine (by Joseph Jacobs) the year of birth is wrongly given as 1797; it should be 1799.

Read also Zangwill's "From a Mattress Grave" (in *Dreamers of the Ghetto*); Matthew Arnold, *Essays on Criticism*, 1st ed., pp. 179—183; Lady Magnus, *Jewish Portraits*, pp. 32—56.

X.—REFORM AND YOUNG ISRAEL, 1818—1830.

Graetz, vol. v., ch. xv.

This chapter is concerned with the inner religious development of German Jewry, and narrates the beginnings of the Reform movement. The pioneer of this movement was Israel Jacobson, who, as President of the Consistory in Westphalia, introduced German sermons and German prayers and hymns into the synagogue service, and also borrowed from the Christian Church the ceremony of confession of faith. On the downfall of the Westphalian Kingdom Jacobson moved (1815) to Berlin, and owing to his efforts a private synagogue with an organ was opened. But by order of Frederick William III. the synagogue was soon closed, as being schismatic.

Firmer foundations for Reform were then laid in Hamburg, where the Reform Temple Union was established in 1818. The preacher, Kley, introduced the Jacobson reforms and excised from the prayer-book references to a belief in the coming of the Messiah. Although the innovations met with no favour from the German Rabbis, no determined opposition was made at first. But the Temple Union, securing the sanction of a Hungarian Rabbi (Aaron Chorin) and two Italian Rabbis (so-called), and the moral support of Lazarus Riesser, the Dayanim of Hamburg issued a protest, in which they were joined by many Rabbis of Prussia, Italy, Moravia, and Holland. The protest was directly chiefly against the omission of Messianic prayers and the introduction of an organ and German prayers. Nevertheless, in 1820 a branch Reform Synagogue was founded in Leipzig, whence the movement spread to other German towns (Breslau, Carlsruhe, &c.).

An opposing force to Reform in Hamburg was soon created by the appointment in 1821, of Isaac Bernays (1792—1849) as Haham of the old congregation. Animated by a deeper sympathy for traditional Judaism than the school of Jacobson, he retained the old ritual forms though he introduced the German sermon into the orthodox service. More of a scholar than the Reform preachers, he revealed the mission of Judaism as reflected in Jewish literature, and exercised a strong conservative influence over Hamburg Jewry. A similar influence was diffused in Vienna by Isaac Noah Mannheimer (1793—1864), who also combined modern culture with a reverence for Jewish traditional forms. Appointed Rabbi in 1825, he retained Hebrew as the sole language of prayer and excluded the organ; and to his eloquence as a preacher was added the power of Sulzer as a Chazan to make the service attractive even for those of reform inclinations. The influence of the Vienna Synagogue extended to Galicia, and even to Italy and France.

In Berlin the votaries of culture founded the "Society for Culture and Science among the Jews" (1819), the object of which was to retain within the fold the members of Young Israel, who were apt to be lured away by visions of material advancement. The three founders (Edward Gans, Moses Moser, and Leopold Zunz) proposed to instruct the Jewish youth in science, arts, and crafts; but their activity was restricted to the delivery of lectures and the publication of a journal, in which their views on Judaism were coloured and confused by Hegelian philosophy. The society soon collapsed, most of the members (including Gans) embracing Christianity. Moser openly advocated baptism; Zunz alone remained faithful to the last.

Notes :—

Bernays was the first Rabbi who had a scientific education, having studied at the University of Würzburg. He preferred to be called Haham (although attached to an Ashkenazi congregation) instead of Rabbi, because the latter title had sunk in popular esteem. He converted the Talmud Torah School of Hamburg from a religion class into an efficient elementary public school. His most distinguished pupil was Samson Raphael Hirsch, the well-known leader of modern orthodoxy.

The person alluded to by Graetz (p. 623) as "a man who has grown grey in making researches and who is still among the living," was Leopold Zunz, who died in 1887. He is named as "one of the Triumvirate of the Berlin Society of Culture" on p. 663. Zunz was editor of the journal issued by the ill-fated Society.

Edward Gans adopted Christianity in 1825; the following year he was appointed associate-professor in the juridical faculty of the University of Berlin, and in 1828 he became professor.

Recommended Reading :—

On the early history of the Reform Movement see the article by Rev. Dr. D. Philipson, "The Beginnings of the Reform Movement in Judaism," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xv., pp. 475—521 (April, 1903). Subsequent articles on the movement by the same writer appeared as follows:—Second article, *J.Q.R.* xvi., 30—72 (October, 1903); third article, xvi., 485—524 (April, 1904); fourth article, xvii., 307—353 (January, 1905).

On Bernays, Mannheimer, and Gans, see the articles in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*.

XI.—THE RENAISSANCE OF JEWRY, 1830—1840.

Graetz, vol. v., ch. xvi.

With the exception of the interlude on political emancipation in France and Germany, this chapter more properly belongs to the history of Jewish literature; but in so far as it unfolds the intellectual development of Jewry it is quite germane. By "Jewish history" Graetz understands all manifestations of Jewish activity—not only social, economic, and political, but also religious and literary.

(1.) The political equality of the Jews of France was finally placed on a firm and lasting basis in 1831 (following upon the Revolution of July, 1830), under Louis Philippe, by a law enacting that the Rabbis should receive part of their salary from the national exchequer, and that the Jewish theological seminary in Metz should be recognised as a State institution.

The first determined Jewish champion of the emancipation of his people in Germany was Gabriel Riesser (1806—1860). His efforts were supported by the party of Young Germany, which espoused the cause of Jewish equality and religious liberty. The Electorate of Hesse was the first German province to legalise the emancipation of the Jews (1820).

(2.) Still deprived of civic equality, the scholars of German Jewry began to make scientific research into the history of their people from the earliest times, and thus strengthened the self-consciousness and self-reliance of the rising generation. They revealed the continuance of Jewish life and activity from Bible times and the hereditary forces of durability such continuance implied, and thus not only inspired their co-religionists with pride in their past but compelled the admiration of the Gentile world. Moreover, they unearthed the intellectual treasures that had accumulated through the centuries, and thus provided the Jewish mind with a Jewish literature to serve not only as a study but as a stimulus.

The first efforts in this direction were made by Solomon Löwisoohn (1789—1822) and Isaac Marcus Jost (1793—1860), and more serious contributions were made by the Galicians, Nachman Krochmal (1785—1840) and Solomon Judah Rapoport (1790—1867), who laid the historical foundations of Jewish scholarship. But the claim to be the father and founder of this Renaissance Movement, based not only upon the importance of his achievements but also upon the far-reaching extent of his influence, must be accorded to Leopold Zunz (1794—1887). The appearance of his *Liturgical Homilies of the Jews* in 1832 is a landmark not only in Jewish literature but also in Jewish history.

The Galician group of scholars had as their organ the Hebrew journal, *Keren Chemed* (Desirable Vineyard), which also contained contributions from Zunz and Michael Sachs in Germany, and Samuel David Luzzatto in Italy. Their most brilliant spirit was Isaac Erter (1792—1851), the satirist, who scourged the superstition of the Chassidim with the pen of Isaiah. In Germany appeared the *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für Jüdische Theologie*, the editor of which, Abraham Geiger (1810—1871), was one of the most important

exponents of Reform. The first serious and scholarly attempt to combat the Reform tendency was made by Samson Raphael Hirsch with his *Nineteen Letters on Judaism* (1836).

Notes :—

Jost's two principal works are *Geschichte der Israeliten*, which is almost confined to the purely political history of the Jews, and *Geschichte des Judenthums*, which deals with their religious and literary development.

The term "Jewish Science" is given to the scientific research into the history, literature, and religion of the Jews, which began in this period with Zunz and his contemporaries, and has happily continued ever since.

Geiger, besides being a Reform leader, was an original and fertile writer—"one of the pathfinders of the science of Judaism." He began his career with an essay on Mohammed's borrowings from Judaism, which is still of value. His greatest work was on the "Primitive Text and Translations of the Bible." He also wrote on Jehuda Halevi, the Spanish and Italian Jewish poets, the history of exegesis, of Jewish apologetics, and of Jewish philosophy. For more than twenty years he was Rabbi at Breslau (1840—1863), and he spent his last years in Berlin as Rabbi and as lecturer at the Hochschule (an institute for the advanced study of Jewish Science and training of ministers).

Hirsch and Geiger, who were radically opposed to one another in their religious views, had been fellow-students at Bonn University. The *Nineteen Letters* of Hirsch made a powerful impression on Graetz, who was only nineteen when the work was published, and the future historian became a resident pupil of the orthodox Rabbi (1837-1840) in Frankfort.

Recommended Reading :—

On Krochmal see the essay by Schechter in his *Studies in Judaism*.

On Isaac Erter see the article by Rev. Dr. J. Chotzner, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, ii., p. 106 (1891).

On Joseph Perles, the promoter of modern education in Galicia, see article by Prof. W. Bacher, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vii., 1—23 (1895).

On Leopold Zunz see the article by the late Lector I. H. Weiss, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vii., 365—397 (1895). Read also the article by Rev. Dr. A. Löwy, in the *Miscellany of Hebrew Literature*, vol. i., 151—166, which is followed by a translation of the chapter in Zunz's *Synagogal Poetry of the Middle Ages* on "The Sufferings of the Jews." A quotation from this chapter heads one of the chapters in George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*.

On Samson Raphael Hirsch see the essay by Dr. S. A. Hirsch in his *Book of Essays*. A translation of the *Nineteen Letters of Ben Uzziel* by Dr. B. Drachman has been published by Funk and Wagnalls (44, Fleet Street, E.C., 1899).

XII.—THE BLOOD ACCUSATION AT DAMASCUS, 1840.

Graetz, vol. v., ch. xvii.

From the peaceful spectacle of scholarly activity in the previous chapter we are now plunged into the mediæval terrors of the Blood Accusation. There was a mixture of religious and political hostility in the origin of the Damascus affair, but in its subsequent course the political element was predominant, and every European Government was concerned in its solution. The martyrdom of the Jews of Damascus had at least one favourable result of lasting effect: it created a feeling of solidarity between the Jews of Europe and their brethren in the East, whose educational needs and religious liberty ultimately became the voluntary charge of representative bodies in Paris, London, and Vienna.

The accusation arose through the sudden disappearance of a Capuchin monk, Father Thomas, and his servant, in Damascus, in February, 1840. It was known that the Turk with whom the monk had quarrelled shortly before had committed suicide, but the murder of the missing persons was laid at the door of the Jews, who were accused of obtaining the blood for use on Passover—six weeks after. The local French consul, Ratti Menton, was the most furious in persecuting the Jews so as to obtain a forced confession; his efforts were aided by Sherif Pasha, Governor of Damascus, and Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt. But despite the imprisonment and torture of several distinguished members of the community, the destroying of Jewish houses, and the starving of children so as to extort information from their mothers, no confession or proof of guilt was forthcoming.

In Rhodes a similar accusation was made against the Jews on the discovery of the dead body of a Greek boy who had hanged

himself. Here also many Jews were arrested and tortured. In Rhenish Prussia there was another outbreak, but the utter baselessness of the charge was so patent—the suspected victim being alive—that the agitation was promptly suppressed.

A report of the Damascus affair appearing in the French press, Adolphe Crémieux (1796—1880) resolved to defend his co-religionists, and obtained from Louis Philippe a promise to investigate the matter.—a promise that came to nought. In England Moses Montefiore, Baron Nathaniel Rothschild, and others, induced Palmerston to send instructions to the English Ambassador at Constantinople and the Consul at Alexandria, to cause the barbarities to cease. The Austrian Consul at Damascus, Merlato, the only local official on the side of the Jews throughout the affair, supplied Metternich with a faithful report, whereupon the latter bestirred himself in the Jewish cause, and relief came visibly nearer.

The Sultan of Turkey ordered a revision of the trial of the Rhodes affair, the result of which was that the Governor of the island was deposed, and the Jews were acquitted and awarded damages. Mehemet Ali, pressed by Metternich, appointed a tribunal consisting of the consuls of England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, to deal with the Damascus affair; but Thiers, to save the dignity of France, ordered Mehemet Ali to suspend the tribunal. Hence, the only course left was for some European Jews of influence to plead in person before the Pasha of Egypt.

Encouraged by the enthusiastic meeting at the Mansion House and the good-will of most of the European governments, Moses Montefiore and Adolphe Crémieux set forth as emissaries to Egypt, accompanied by Solomon Munk, the Orientalist, as interpreter. They arrived in Cairo on August 4th, and at once laid their petition before Mehemet Ali. After three weeks of ceaseless activity on the part of the emissaries, the vacillating Pasha ordered the Jewish prisoners to be liberated; four had already died; the nine survivors were released. At this juncture Mehemet Ali had to yield Syria and Crete to Turkey, whereupon Montefiore obtained from the Sultan a Firman declaring the Blood Accusation groundless. On a charge of treason the Governor of Damascus was dragged in chains to Cairo and executed.

Notes :—

The Damascus affair had two important results of an intellectual character, though of quite a different order. In the first place, Crémieux and Munk, seeing the ignorance in which the Jews of

Egypt were sunk, founded schools in Alexandria and Cairo for the education of the children, and thus sowed the seeds from which afterwards sprang the Alliance Israélite Universelle. Secondly, Munk was enabled by his visit to Egypt to make valuable researches into the Arabic literature of the Jews in the middle ages, more especially into the writings of Maimonides, and to show the debt of Europe to mediæval Jewish philosophy. It was he who discovered the identity of Avicbron, supposed for centuries to have been a Christian philosopher, with Ibn Gabirol, the Jewish philosopher of Spain.

Graetz states (p. 701) that the Jews were attacked in the French and German newspapers in connection with the Damascus affair, but makes no reference to the anonymous writer in the *Times*, who asserted that the accusation was likely to be true, as the ritual use of blood for the Passover celebration was prescribed in the Talmud. An effective refutation of this assertion, in a scholarly letter of more than two columns in length, was written by Professor Theodores, of Owens College, Manchester. This letter, in pamphlet form, may be seen at the British Museum.

Recommended Reading :—

On the life of Sir Moses Montefiore see Mr. Lucien Wolf's "Centennial Biography" (1884, Murray), and also Dr. L. Löwe, *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore* (1890, Griffith, Farran).

On the Damascus affair see David Salomons, *An Account of the Recent Persecution of the Jews at Damascus* (1840, Longmans), and Dr. L. Löwe, *Efes Damim—Groundlessness of the Blood Accusation*, translated from the Hebrew of Isaac B. Levinsohn (1841, Luzac).

On the history and origin of the Blood Accusation see the excellent article by Prof. H. L. Strack in *Jewish Encyclopædia*, iii., 260—266.

On the life of Crénieux see the article in *Jewish Encyclopædia* iv.

XIII.—MODERN PROGRESS, 1840—1870.

Graetz, vol. v., ch. xviii.

This final chapter deals with a variety of subjects, chief of which are the continued development of the Reform movement, the growth of political emancipation, and the founding of theological colleges and of politico-philanthropic associations.

The Reform movement received only a momentary stimulus from the "Frankfort Society of Friends of Reform" (1840), which had a bold policy but a brief career. A new factor appeared in the First Rabbinical Conference, which met at Brunswick in 1844, under the presidency of Samuel Holdheim (1806—1860), Chief Rabbi of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. The latter was the most radical of all Reformers: he advocated the suppression of everything in Judaism that possessed a national or political character, such as the Saturday Sabbath, the Hebrew language, the marriage laws, and the Messianic hope. At the Second Rabbinical Conference in Frankfort (1845), Zechariah Frankel (1801—1875) appeared as leader of the Orthodox party, and opposed the proposals of Holdheim. In 1846 Holdheim consecrated the Berlin Reform Temple, where the worshippers sat bare-headed, Hebrew was reduced to a minimum, and the Sabbath service was transferred to Sunday.

But a vigorous opponent of Holdheim arose in Michael Sachs (1808—1864), the eloquent preacher of the Berlin Congregation, who charmed many Reformers to his own synagogue by his brilliant oratory. Sachs also made many important contributions to Jewish literature, of which the best known is his "Religious Poetry of the Jews in Spain." In the literary activity that distinguished the middle of last century the Talmud was subjected to scientific study, and impartial Christian scholars, such as Ewald, revealed the early history of the Jews in its true light.

The Revolutions of 1848 brought civil emancipation to the Jews in Germany, Austria, and Italy, and consolidated the position of the Jews in France. England remained isolated; the internal struggle for complete emancipation found its first success in the election of Jews to municipal distinctions. But the right to sit in Parliament was not conceded till 1858, after a struggle of nearly 30 years, when Baron Lionel de Rothschild took his seat as member for the City of London. In America the civil equality of the Jews had become an established fact after the War of Independence, 1775-6.

The first Jewish theological college to be founded and conducted on modern scientific principles was that of Breslau, which was opened in 1854. Graetz was appointed on the staff as lecturer in Jewish history and Biblical exegesis, and he continued in this position until his death in 1891. Following the example of Breslau there were established seminaries in Berlin, Vienna, Buda-Pesth, Amsterdam, London, New York, and Cincinnati.

In 1860 was founded the Alliance Israélite Universelle for the purpose of succouring oppressed Jews in the East and improving their intellectual condition. With a view to co-operating in this work the Anglo-Jewish Association was founded in 1871, and a similar body—the Israelitische Allianz—was created in Vienna, to deal more especially with the condition of the Jews in Galicia. The Jews of Germany have founded the Hilfsverein with kindred objects, whilst in America the Independent Order B'nei Brith made a notable display of Jewish patriotism and political courage in its action with regard to the Kishineff massacre of 1903.

Notes :—

This final chapter is inevitably miscellaneous in character, as there were so many developments in different directions during the period in question.

It should be noted that Holdheim, the personification of Reform Judaism, scrupulously decided all questions of religious law according to the Rabbinical codes while Rabbi in Frankfort (1836—1840).

During his thirteen years of active life in Berlin, he wrote several text-books on the Jewish religion and a voluminous work in Hebrew on the Rabbinical and Karaite interpretations of the marriage laws.

Besides the two Rabbinical Conferences mentioned by Graetz, there was a third, held in Breslau in 1846.

Graetz is unusually severe in dealing with those of his contemporaries from whom he differed, especially the members of the Reform school such as Holdheim and Geiger. But with all his championing of the orthodox, even he himself was accused of heresy by this party because he had denied the personal character of the prophesied Messiah.

Recommended Reading :—

This chapter is defective in entirely overlooking the Jews of Russia. In his history of the Jews in the nineteenth century, Graetz regarded Germany as the centre of gravity of Jewry. Whatever important developments may have taken place there, the fact remains that Russia and Poland contain half the Jews in the world, and no Jewish history can be complete without an adequate account of the conditions in those countries. See Dubnow's *Jewish History* pp. 147—155. On the extensive literature produced by Russian

Jewry see the article on "Literature in the Ghetto," by Israel Cohen, in the *Jewish Literary Annual* for 1904. The best and fullest account of the history of the Jews in Russia will be found in the *Jewish Encyclopædia*.

As an antidote to Graetz's treatment of Holdheim read the article by Dr. Emil G. Hirsch in the *Jewish Encyclopædia*. See also the article by the Rev. Dr. I. H. Ritter on "Samuel Holdheim: the Jewish Reformer," in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, i., 202—215 (1889).

A good account of the Rabbinical Conferences has just been contributed by the Rev. Dr. D. Philipson to the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, July, 1905 (pp. 656—689).

On the relations between the national and religious elements in Judaism, a subject of dispute rendered more frequent since the days of Holdheim by the advance of the Zionist movement, see the article on "National Judaism" by Lady Magnus, in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, i., pp. 353—358. ("Those who would dissociate the national from the religious, or the religious from the national element in Judaism, attempt the impossible.") See also Mr. C. G. Montefiore, "Nation or Religious Community?" *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xii., 177—194 (January, 1900), or *Transactions of Jewish Historical Society*, iv., 1—15. The whole question is bound up with the theory of Zionism, on which see Mr. I. Zangwill's article in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, April, 1905, in reply to Mr. Lucien Wolf on "The Zionist Peril" in the same Review, October, 1904. See also "Zionism: its History and its Aims," by Dr. Max Nordau (English Zionist Federation, 3, Commercial Street, E.).

On the struggle for political emancipation in England and the story of progress in this country, see Picciotto's *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, or the article on "England" by Mr. Joseph Jacobs in *Jewish Encyclopædia*, v.

On the history of Anti-Semitism see the article by Mr. Lucien Wolf in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

On the life and work of Graetz see the article by Mr. Israel Abrahams, in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, iv., p. 165, followed by a chronological list of the historian's writings; and also the article in the *Jewish Encyclopædia*.

Hampstead & St. John's Wood Jewish Literary Society.

SESSION 1905—6.

SYLLABUS OF SIX SATURDAY AFTERNOON LECTURES

TO BE DELIVERED BY

Mr. ISRAEL COHEN, B.A.,

ON

**THE MODERN PERIOD OF JEWISH HISTORY,
FROM 1780 TO THE PRESENT DAY.**

SATURDAY, NOV. 11TH.

First Lecture.

THE STORY OF INTELLECTUAL EMANCIPATION.

Characteristics of European Jewry in First Half of Eighteenth Century—Advent of Moses Mendelssohn—Literary and Philosophical Activity—Friendship with Lessing—Mendelssohn's Threefold Influence: Religious, Literary, Political—Translation of Pentateuch—Hebrew Littérateurs—Dohm's Pamphlet—Judeo-Christian Salons—Börne and Heine—Results of Mendelssohnian Enlightenment.

NOV. 25TH.

Second Lecture.

THE STORY OF POLITICAL EMANCIPATION.

The French Revolution—Jews of Alsace—Paris Synhedrion—Emancipation in Holland—Struggle in Germany and Austria—Gabriel Riesser—Revolutions of 1830 and 1848—Emancipation in England—Struggle in Russia.

DEC. 9TH.

Third Lecture.

THE STORY OF RELIGIOUS REFORM.

Beginnings of Reform—Hamburg Reform Temple—Conservative Forces—Frankfort Society of Friends of Reform—Rabbinical Conferences (1844-6)—Geiger and Holdheim—Berlin Reform Temple—Reform in England and America.

DEC. 23RD.

Fourth Lecture.

THE STORY OF JEWISH SCHOLARSHIP.

The Term "Jewish Science"—Beginnings of Historical Research—Leopold Zunz—The Galician School: Krochmal, Rapoport, Erter—Samuel David Luzzatto—Abraham Geiger—Sachs: "Religious Poetry of the Jews in Spain"—Munk—Graetz—Reviews and Societies.

JAN. 6TH.

Fifth Lecture.

THE STORY OF PERSECUTION.

Oppressive Legislation in Eighteenth Century—The "Hep, Hep" Riots of 1819—Blood Accusation at Damascus and Rhodes (1840)—Crémieux and Montefiore—Persecution in Russia and Roumania—Anti-Semitism.

JAN. 20TH.

Sixth Lecture.

THE STORY OF MODERN PROGRESS.

Survey of Modern Jewry—Activity in Western Europe—The "American Hegemony"—Colonial Expansion—Founding of Theological Seminaries—A Modern Community—Guardianship of the Orient—Activity of Politico-Educational Associations—Jewish Influences in Modern Thought—Contributions to Literature, Science, Art—Contrary Tendencies of Assimilation and Nationalism—The Jewish Question.

*The Lectures will be given at the Board Room of the Hampstead Synagogue at
3.30 p.m.*

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